1967) Moroccan trips; and I should add that neither of these New York institutions being the owner, editor or publisher of the series in which this monograph appears, they can assume no responsibility for its contents - for such is entirely my own.

I must also acknowledge the very great help of Capt. José Rodriguez Erola of the Spanish Army, for having made available to me two unpublished papers by Blanco (translated in the text) from the archives of the Ajdir Office in the Aith Waryaghar comarcal, of which he was the administrator or interventor, in 1955. Professor Carleton S. Coon, Emeritus, formerly of the University of Pennsylvania (who was largely responsible for my initial interest in the Rif as an area of fieldwork) and Professor Ernest Gellner, of the Department of Sociology at the London School of Economics, both gave me much advice and encouragement; and Professor Gellner was kind enough to read and comment upon the first draft (1962) of the manuscript. I hope that I have heeded his comments, as my footnotes needed much pruning. And to Mrs. Don Carl Steffen, who understandingly and uncomplainingly typed up the second draft, I owe a very great debt indeed. The present draft is the third one. I also wish to give credit to the late Dr. Lloyd Cabot Briggs for having thought of the title "Colonel in the Rif."

But, always barring Col. Blanco's own family and heirs, my greatest thanks of all must go to two persons: to 'Amar Azzugwagh of the Aith Turirth subclan of the highland Aith Waryaghar, my mentor, initiator and general factotum in Things Rifian, who checked over all the Blanco materials with me point by point by point, after my return to Morocco

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"Emilio Blanco is not listed in the Spanish Dictionary of National Biography, and before I went on my first field trip into the Rif Mountains of what, until 1956, was the Spanish Protectorate of Morocco, I had never heard of him. After my arrival in the then protectoral capital of Tetuan in February 1953, I stumbled across two of his works in the library of the Delegation of Native Affairs. I picked them up casually, and then began to read them with an avid and ever-increasing interest. Three months later, when I actually began my own researches in the Rif, I came to hear his name so often, from the lips of Spanish army officers and Rifians alike, and always coupled with the highest praise, that I began to wonder if an assessment of his contributions to the field of Berberology (i.e., Berber sociology) might not be worthwhile. After reading more of his writings, both published and unpublished, and finding out more about his policy as a tribal administrator, I became convinced that it was worthwhile, if only to rescue his name from the ethnographic oblivion into which it had fallen, and to give credit where credit was due."

121 I wrote these words in 1958, and since then I have not altered my opinion. After the publication of this preliminary article, however, I had entertained the idea of preparing for publication, with the kind permission of Col. Blanco's widow and family, all his unpublished manuscripts and notes having to do with Berbers, the Rif and Morocco generally; but during the month of March 1960 which I spent in Madrid going over his material, I became convinced that because of the fragmentary and disparate nature of much of this, it would be far too unwieldy a project to undertake. I therefore decided at this time to concentrate only on those data which had, in the language of social anthropology, "structural relevance"; and a continual shifting of Blanco's data since then - plus a second month of further archival research in Madrid, at the Africa Section (the Garcia Figueras collection, inaugurated late in 1966) at the National Library there, in April 1970 - has fully confirmed me in this decision, particularly

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127 No student of the subject could possibly fail to recognize the tremendous value of maps such as these, which the then administration kindly lent me as an aid in my own work.

114 Civil war had now already broken out in Spain, and Emilio Blanco, like most of his fellow members of the corps of tribal interventores, was solidly pro-Nationalist. In July 1936, General Franco, after a historic meeting at the Yellow Plain of Ktama, won all the tribal elements of Spanish Morocco to his cause (not the least of which were the Aith Waryaghar who had fought so hard, with 'Abd al-Krim, against Spain only ten years earlier), was ready to march into his homeland as the Commander of the Spanish Nationalist Forces, now augmented with a large Moroccan contingent, one which, indeed, amounted to nearly half of the total Nationalist troops. Hence the then regional interventor of the Rif, Juan Bautista Sanchez Gonzalez, left Villa Sanjurjo to join Franco. Sanchez Gonzalez was succeeded by Major Blanco, and it was largely through Blanco's efforts and experience that the Rifians never once wavered in their allegiance to Franco during the next three years while Spain was wracked with strife. We refer anyone interested 114 65 in Blanco's attempts to improve the lot of the Rifians economically, through public works and irrigation projects, and in his architectural projects (schools, mkhazni posts, market tribunals for qaids and qadis, and intervención offices - notably that of the "castle" at l-Arba' Tawrirt, the Wednesday Market of the Aith Turirth, on which depended the southeastern Aith Waryaghar highlanders) to Sierra Ochoa's article, cited above.

114 67 443 182 on the hillsides, bringing the cries of victims and the echo of rifle shots in its train" (LR, p. 19). Blanco's work is shot through with references to the clan (or, as he calls it, fraccion), with its market, as the basic Rifian patria - which of course applies better to large tribes like the Aith Waryaghar than to small ones like the Thafarsith, "Rifian Switzerlands" surrounded by more powerful neighbors.

114 607 [608] By 1960, some of the finer points of the Rifian qanuns or Customary Law documents had been forgotten even by members of the oldest living generation, e.g., such as how much is to be paid if one shoots at a man and misses him, or if one threatens him with a dagger, but does not stab him. Blanco, and to a lesser extent Carleton Coon[28], have both set down many of these common-law niceties; and Blanco's work has the additional merit (and we refer here primarily to LR) of being a translation and an analysis of primary documents, some dating as far back as the mid-eighteenth century. These are invaluable source materials for the long and unbroken period of the Rifian 'Ripublik' (as opposed to 'Abd al-Krim's Dawla Jumhuriya Rifiya, or "Rifian Republican State", 1921-1926, although he only constituted it "officially" early in 1923), which is today only a memory and, according to some, a skeleton in the Rifian closet. However, old tribesmen and even some younger ones who are less sophisticated - and who therefore generally make better informants - still grudgingly admit to admiring it and to looking upon it with nostalgia.

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[113] 28--Cf. Carleton S. Coon, Tribes of the Rif, Harvard African Studies, Vol. IX, Cambridge, Mass.: Peabody Museum, 1931. Coon's data on customary law come primarily from the tribe of the Igzinnayen, whereas the bulk of Blanco's come from their northern neighbors, the Aith Waryaghar.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

perspective. Material traits do not include all of cultural geography, but they do constitute the core of things that the geographer can study systematically.

The thesis of my study of deforestation is that the extent of change can be roughly delimited by historical research and by observation of present trends. In northern Morocco, as elsewhere in the Mediterranean region, the principal agents of deforestation have been (1) domestic and industrial consumption of wood, (2) burning to clear land for cultivation, and (3) destruction of palatable plant material by livestock. There is evidence that each of these agents has been active for centuries. If allowance is made for probable variations in the rate of disturbance, tentative conclusions may be reached as to the extent of change.

For reasons that are painfully evident to all students of Moroccan languages or dialects, correct transliteration is difficult to achieve. Consider the word for "mountain." On French maps it apears as *jebel* or *djebel;* on Spanish maps it is *yebel*. The proper English transliteration of the classical Arabic is *jabal*. But most Moroccans know little of classical Arabic. The usual pronunciation is *jbil*, and this is the way I have written the word. I have tried to transliterate words so that they are intelligible to English-speaking readers. Thus the Maghribi Arabic word for "stream" appears as *wad*, not as *oued* or *uad*. Shawen is substituted for Chauen or Xauen, and Wezzan for Ouezzane. The variant spellings of French and Spanish cartographers are listed in the Appendix.

The field work for this study was carried out from November, 1955, to May, 1957, under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation. I wish to acknowledge my gratitude to that institution for its support. I am grateful to many Moroccans who helped me to understand their land and culture. Special mention should be made of my frequent traveling companions, Muhammad Miqqi of Ktama and Muhammad ben Hmid l'Arbi of Aith Seddath. I am indebted also to Charles Sauvage of the Institut Scientifique Chérifien for assistance in the identification of plants.

Since returning to the United States, I have profited from correspondence with David M. Hart. Mr. Hart was engaged in ethnological field work in the Rif from 1953 to 1955 and has since returned to Morocco for more extensive research. I am indebted to him for notes on many aspects of Moroccan culture, and especially for his advice on transliteration. The reader with prior knowledge of the literature on northern Morocco will be aware that I have derived great profit from study of the pioneer work of Carleton S. Coon. The illustrations of clothing and house types for chapters i and v were made from my collection of photographs and field sketches by Iris Neff and Jacques Lemieux.

Finally, I wish to express appreciation for the encouragement given to this undertaking by my teachers at the University of California. A preliminary version of this study was prepared as a doctoral dissertation in geography under the supervision of Professors Carl O. Sauer, Melvin M. Knight, and James J. Parsons. The present work has profited from the criticism of Professors John Leighly, Erhard Rostlund, and Clarence J. Glacken.

7: Mikesell K-4,5 (1955-1957) 1961 MX3 Rif MX3

Spartel as far as the western flank of Jbil Musa. Today this coast commands one of the world's great trade routes. For the Ancients the Pillars of Hercules marked the end of the known world, the very limits of civilization. In medieval time the Arabs rarely ventured into the Atlantic, and in the great age of exploration the Occidental Muslims limited their activity to piracy. For Morocco this coast has been a bond with Spain. By this almost terrestrial function the Strait of Gibraltar assumed a decisive role in Moroccan history. It was to guard the southern flank of Betica that Emperor Claudius created the province of Mauritania Tingitana in A.D. 46. The proximity of the two shores allowed Islam to conquer the Iberian peninsula, and the Spanish, in turn, to extend their influence to the Moroccan coast.

On the Mediterranean coast Morocco faces the great highway of civilization, but that shore, almost completely devoid of shelter, has never had an important maritime activity. A few fishing boats operate on calm days, but their sole function is to carry nets and seines a short distance beyond the surf. No road or trail of any significance follows this coast. Immediately east of the delta of Río Martín (Wad Martil) the coastline consists of a series of high cliffs cut by deep barrancas (pl. 1, *a*). This pattern, except for the small coastal plain formed by the deltas of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour, continues as far as Melilla.

Climate

The climate of northern Morocco is of the Mediterranean type. In its simplest form this type of climate is characterized by (1) concentration of precipitation in winter and spring, the summers being nearly or completely dry; (2) warm to hot summers and mild winters; and (3) a high percentage of the possible sunshine for the year. From the Atlantic coast eastward to about 4° west longitude, irrigation is unnecessary for cereal crops. Within this zone the average annual precipitation ranges from 400 mm. to more than 1,000 mm. The extent of this range reflects the extreme contrasts of exposure and elevation. The drier zone, with precipitation totals of 400 mm. or less, begins on the eastern edge of the Rif chain.

Figure 6 was compiled from published records of forty-five weather stations for the decade 1946–1955. The former date is the earliest that can be used if conditions in the entire zone are to be compared. The records of a few stations extend to earlier years, and the Catholic Mission in Tangier has recorded weather observations since 1912. But data have become available for the interior of the zone only since the end of the Second World War.[1]

Precipitation decreases from north to south on the Atlantic coast, and from west to east on the Mediterranean coast. Tangier, with 810 mm. (31.9 in.), is the wettest coastal station in the zone. At Arcila, only 40 km. to the south, the total is 611 mm. (24 in.). On the Mediterranean coast, Ceuta with 560 mm. (22 in.) contrasts with Wad Lao with 460 mm. (18.1 in.), Puerto Capaz with 330 mm.

[1] For observations recorded prior to 1944, see *Resumen de las observaciones meteorológicas efectuadas en la zona de Marruecos hasta 1944* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen, 1946). The years 1944–1946 are covered in a supplement published in 1947. Since the latter date, weather records have been published monthly in the *Boletín Mensual Climatológico del Servicio Meteorológico en Marruecos* (Tetuán: Imprenta del Majzen). For data on precipitation elsewhere in Morocco see *Atlas du Maroc*, Planche 4 *a*, "Précipitations annuelles" (Rabat: Comité de Géographie du Maroc, 1958), and the "Notice explicative" that accompanies the map.

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619 131 °Alam, up to the Wergha. In particular they were the Koutama, Rehouna, Ghezawa, Beni Messara. Beyond, toward the West, in the Atlantic plain from Arzila to Anfa, the Beni Hassan, a Ghomarian population by origin, ensured, through the agency of the Berghwata, Doukkala, and Regraga, continuity of territory up to the Masmouda of the Haut-Atlas /High Atlas/. The only [563] foreign element was a small group of Senhaja settled around Tanger /Tangier/, jutting out in a point toward Tétouan (1).

1. Ibn Khaldoun, Vol. II, p. 134; El Bekri, de Slane trans., Algiers, 1913, pp. 207-210. Moreover, we have utilized the manuscript notes of M. G.-S. Colin, who identified on the spot a certain number of the points mentioned by El Bekri.

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To the south of the western Rif, the Ghomara united with the Masmouda /map appears here/ /209/ stopped at the Wergha. The [616] [648] Beni Zerwal, given by Ibn Khaldoun sometimes in the one or the other of the two leffs, rather appear to have been Ghomara, judging by their constant fights against their neighbors, Beni Ouriaglel of the Senhaja leff, fights that were prolonged from the time of Léon l'Africain /Leo Africanus/ up to our day (1).

1. Léon l'Africain, Vol. II, p. 300.

000 The left bank of the Wergha was then, as at present, held by small Senhaja tribes who were doubtless the Almoravide "gich" /gish; see pp. 477 and 480/ charged with keeping in awe the mountain populations of the North.

619 131 At the time, impossible to specify, when the Senhaja of Srair had not yet advanced toward the north in the direction of the sea, and when they doubtless formed a single bloc with the Senhaja of Mosbah and of Gheddo, the Mtiwa, another Ghomarian population that we now find broken up into three tribes, were to extend from the sea to the Wergha through the present-day

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 283]